

*With the compliments of
Charles Hawley*

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S.N.D.NORTH.

ADDRESSES

BEFORE THE

CAYUGA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

(1881-1882)

BY CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.

OF AUBURN, N. Y.

FOURTH AND FIFTH
ANNUAL ADDRESSES

— 1881 AND 1882 —

BEFORE THE

CAYUGA CO. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.

President of the Society.

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FOURTH ANNUAL ADDRESS
BY THE PRESIDENT.

FEBRUARY 7TH, 1881.

A D D R E S S.

It is to History, in regard to dignity and authority, that Lord Bacon assigns the pre-eminent place among human writings. "For, to its fidelity are intrusted the examples of our ancestors; the vicissitudes of things; the foundations of civil policy and the name and reputation of men." "But," he adds, "the difficulty is no less than the dignity. For to carry the mind in writing into the past and bring it into sympathy with antiquity; diligently to examine; freely and faithfully to report, and by the light of words to place, as it were, before the eyes, the revolutions of time; the characters of persons; the courses and currents of actions, is a task of great labor and judgment, rather because in ancient transactions the truth is difficult to ascertain, and in modern, it is dangerous to tell."

All that is here said of the dignity and difficulty attending historical memoirs, applies with force to the purposes of our organization; for it is only as local history is ample and accurate that the material exists, to give general history either dignity or value. It is, moreover, no easy task, as I hardly need remind you, to keep up a vigorous historical society, especially in a community so youthful, comparatively, as our own—not yet having completed its first century. We may have been too busy making history to think much of collecting its annals, and too near, perhaps, the generation that opened for us through the wilderness the path of civilization, fully to appreciate their work.

At the best, however, we can hardly expect any thing like popular enthusiasm in the slow and patient endeavor to garner the materials of history. We must still be content with the active enlistment of the comparatively few, whose tastes lead them in this direction, or who place some proper estimate upon the future value of such labors. The number possessed with the true historic spirit, is small, and they are fewer still who have both the inclination and the means, with the leisure, to gratify it. I do not know that we have even one among our forty or fifty members, who ranks as an enthusiast in such matters; while it is not too much to say that the body of our membership is in hearty and growing sympathy with the objects which the Society has in charge. With our present numbers we have been able thus far, to maintain a healthy organization, and have much to show for our labors. But in the growing demands of the work, we would be much encouraged and helped by larger co-operation on the part of our citizens, who have with us a common interest in what we aim to accomplish. We need, perhaps, to be less modest in urging our claims as a Society upon the public favor, and more diligent in personal solicitation, to increase our membership. These claims are easily recognized. The work entrusted to the Society must commend itself to every intelligent citizen throughout the County. Whatever is valuable in our various enterprises, religious, social or industrial, and whatever of benefit has accrued from them, it is the province of this Society to rescue from oblivion, and embalm in the memories and gratitude of men. What has thus been worth doing, is worthy such preservation, and what was not so well worth doing--all of fact and incident which reveal the weaker side of human nature and even the worst side of human life--alike serves the purposes of impartial history. There may be wisdom as well as warning to be gathered from the errors and mistakes of those who

have preceded us. History is a good tonic for that morbid despondency which despairs of the times and laments the "good old days," never to return. Its atmosphere is healthy and bracing; and though it disrobe the past of the enchantment which distance of time no less than of space, lends to the view, it serves also to present the real and the true in forms most instructive and striking. It is this large teaching of human experience gathered from the widest fields of human action, that is the province of history; and he who studies its lessons most devoutly, is best furnished to act well his part in all that concerns present duty.

As for our own immediate field of inquiry as a Society, the more we work it, the richer we find it in historic wealth. By means of researches made within the last three or four years, and mainly under the auspices of the Society, we have come into larger knowledge of the people who held this ground for centuries preceding its settlement by the white man, and have traced the presence among them of the first Europeans who ever trod this soil; the object and various motives which impelled the adventurers, their heroism and their failure, and have become familiar with some of the scenes of one of the great dramas of history, enacted within the limits of our own county, along its lakes, which are still the pride and beauty of the region, and by the very stream that flows through and has created our city, whose banks resound with the industries which have rendered Auburn famous in distant parts of the world, for invention and intelligent enterprise.

It would appear, at first thought, that the early settlement of a region like this could have had little in common with its present condition. We look back almost a hundred years, since a new civilization took possession of this territory. The aboriginal race had hardly been dispossessed of the soil, when single families without concert, only a common

impulse to better their condition, began to find their way thither from the Eastern States and the Eastern portion of this State; and soon neighborhoods are formed and compacted, followed by villages as centers of trade and the arts of life; and these, where fortunately located with facilities for growth, becoming prosperous cities, until the whole scene changes from semi-barbarous life to cultured and progressive society.

The difference in some aspects is great. There is an indescribable fascination at this distance of time in the story of pioneer life, often as it may be rehearsed. Its dangers, privations and hardships over against the security and comfort and plenty in which we dwell, invest it with a romantic, often heroic interest. The contrast it presents to all modern improvement in the face of the country; in dwellings, churches, public buildings, stores, manufactories and whole social and industrial economy, is very wide. But in all that makes up the ground work of life, they stood on the same footing on which we stand to-day. They were as happy, as contented, and as successful, in their straitened conditions, as are the people who succeed them. That they were wiser or more virtuous, is not to be claimed. The vague impression sometimes cherished of the superior goodness of a past generation, is one which a closer knowledge often dissipates, and we learn that human nature retains its characteristics amid all external changes. The more we know of what has been, the more pertinent the advice of the wise man: "Say not then, what is the cause that the former days are better than these; for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this." The people of former days lived and acted in their circumstances, very much like the people of the present day. If they appear to have practiced the more homely and frugal virtues to our disparagement, I am disposed to think it was from necessity rather than choice. They were as extravagant in all direc-

tions as their means would permit. They sought pleasure and personal gratification by the methods open to them. They were no more temperate or self-denying, no more strict in their morals or piety than the same classes of persons now. They were open to aspersions among themselves for their pride and ostentation and factitious social distinctions, quite like those to which we are accustomed.

A curious instance of this I find in a pamphlet which recently fell into my hands, printed by an indignant citizen of Auburn in the year 1828, some fifty-three years ago. It is a vigorous protest at what the writer deemed a most unjust abridgement of the liberty of speech, because he was not permitted on occasions of public worship, to ventilate some very sincere though singular opinions. After repeated attempts at such interruption of religious service, from which he could not be persuaded to desist, he was arrested and convicted in a civil court, though for prudential reasons the penalty for the offence was not exacted. In his appeal to the public against the rank injustice, he is very severe upon both the churches and ministers for their gross departure from the simplicity of Gospel truth and Christian life,—notably St. Peter's, then under the rectorship of the gentle and scholarly Dr. Rudd, and the First Presbyterian still favored with the pastorate of the fervid and eloquent Dr. Lansing. He arraigns these two congregations, before the bar of public opinion on several distinct charges; but what is particularly noticeable is the onslaught he makes upon their "pompous, costly and gorgeous church edifices; furnished with luxurious and unseemly extravagance, shutting out the poor, and even driving them into dissipation and infidelity;" and last of all upon the profane intrusion of choir singing in divine worship with tunes more fitting the stage than the house of God. Indeed, thought I, while reading these things, and more of the same sort, are these the good

old days of pious simplicity I have heard so much about, and from which we have so far degenerated? It sounded so much like an echo of the talk of to-day, that I confess it was some relief to know that church extravagance with fashionable, operatic church music, did not originate with this wayward generation, but belonged likewise to those gracious times!

In truth, all these things are to be judged relatively to time and circumstance, while a just comparison drawn between the Auburn of 1828 and the Auburn of 1881, would not only show what is so patent to all, this increase of material prosperity, but reveal at the same time a substantial improvement even in those aspects in which modern society is thought to be most open to criticism.

I met, only the other day, with an article in an English review, which illustrates in this precise way, social progress in this country. The writer is an American who has spent the large part of his life abroad, and on revisiting his native New England village, compares its present condition with his memories of it fifty years ago. He reproduces with a picturesque vividness, the quaint little town, built on two streets which crossed at right angles, giving it the name of "The Four Corners," with its rival church edifices, two in number, and both innocent of comfort, much less of luxury; its small one story district school house, and more stately academy; its ugly, yellow-painted town house, where all matters of local government and general politics were discussed and settled, and its taverns and miscellaneous stores, where citizens commonly spent their evenings to talk and drink over the events of the day. Drinking was universal, and liquor selling the most profitable branch of business. Nothing could be done without the aid of rum, not even the holding of an ecclesiastical conference as the old account books show, without a plentiful supply. The annual militia muster which combined the pomp of war with the gaiety of a

holiday, was the principal amusement. The people lived very plainly ; were industrious and frugal if not temperate, while there was an educated class, who would have done honor to the most cultivated society of the time.

This was the village as pictured in the memory of the non-resident American, who returns a half a century later, to find it a thriving railway centre, its streets adorned with choice shade trees and lighted with gas ; its dwellings and public buildings greatly improved in comfort and architecture, with no signs of poverty, but apparent thrift every where and comparative luxury. There was not a liquor shop in the town, but instead a savings bank, a free public library, several literary societies, with stated courses of popular and scientific lectures. Religion and culture had kept pace with material progress and the change from fifty years before, was as striking as it is suggestive.

But what makes the testimony of this writer the more interesting is, that to him, his native village was only an illustration of similar changes which met him every where, indicating the social progress of the country within that period, the exceptional instances being largely due to foreign ideas, customs and influences, the tendency of which is to bring down the general standing of intelligence and morals.

The value of our historical literature, as I have said, depends on its fidelity to truth. The narrative may be colored by prejudice, without violence to the facts. The coloring will be easily detected ; and the philosophy can be separated from the substance of the history. I know of nothing more readable or trustworthy in natural history than the facts which Mr. Darwin has gathered and arranged out of the life and habit of the whole animal kingdom to sustain his peculiar theory of evolution. But though I confide in the candor and fidelity to existing facts, characteristic of that eminent naturalist, must I therefore accept his theory

of the origin of man? We know beforehand that it is not the matter-of-fact world, whither the novelist or the dramatist would take us as we surrender to the fascination; but an ideal world into which his imagination transports us and we enjoy the excursion the more for that very reason. History is separated from Romance by sharp and rigid lines; and these are becoming more and more distinct. The ready belief once accorded to whatever assumed the dignity of historical narrative, has passed away. Much of the earlier Grecian and Roman history proves to be legendary and fabulous. It is not very long since the story of Romulus was scarcely less questioned in our schools, than the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, or the Declaration of Independence. All ancient historical writers once stood upon the same footing and were regarded as equally credible. All parts of the same author were supposed to rest upon the same authority. A blind, indiscriminate faith,—aequiescence rather than belief—embraced equally and impartially the whole range of ancient story, setting aside perhaps those prodigies which passed for embellishment to relieve the otherwise tedious narrative.

But all this is changed. The present century, if it did not give birth to, has largely developed, a new science, the science of historical criticism which has revolutionized the study and whole groundwork of history. It has reversed at many points the views once held of the nations and races of the ancient world. A new antiquity may be said to have been reared out of the old; and while very much that was unreal has vanished at the touch of the critic's wand, a fresh revelation has taken its place. I would not say that the destructive criticism which has made havoc with long accepted beliefs, has not erred on that side. The tendency, as is quite natural, has doubtless been to the extreme, where there was so much rubbish to be cleared away. But this is a tendency

which takes care of itself in the long run; and the new fabric with fairer proportions and firmer foundations is sure to rise out of the fragments of discarded systems whether of philosophy or fact.

The spirit of critical inquiry, however, is just now most active in archaeological research, involving the distribution of races over the globe, relative priority of occupation and so the antiquity and origin of man. On such a broad and obscure field of investigation, and entered upon so recently, we must wait with patience for definite results. Some startling opinions have from time to time been given out with no little assurance, which later developments have shown were hasty if not groundless. Nothing has as yet been brought to light which justifies the belief that man existed prior to the human period as defined in the first chapters of Genesis, confessedly the most ancient writing in the world, and which as Bunsen says, has no appearance of exaggerating its own antiquity. Assuming that it gives the true origin of man, there was no need of interminable ages for his development; and the children of the men who built the ark and the tower of Babel could build Thebes, Memphis, and the Pyramids, within the time which the received chronology allows between the flood and the era of these monuments. As early in the book of Genesis as the fourth chapter, mention is made of the invention of instruments of music, of artificers in brass and iron, and certainly such a structure as the Ark is described to have been, implies an advanced state of the mechanical arts. The immediate descendants of Noah, built cities and founded mighty empires. The men of Shinar knew how to build stupendous fabrics of brick and mortar. If then we receive this Book of Genesis as a true though concise history of the antediluvian world, we have the data to account for the early development of human art, without recourse to undefined and fabulous ages in which man crept

from kinship with the brute, to dominion over the earth. The theory that the human race began its existence at the lowest stage of barbarism, is neither demanded nor warranted by any known facts. On the other hand, the evidence is, that barbarism, wherever found, is a decline from a previous state of civilization.

The most remote races whose history can only be gathered from their graves, their habitations and implements, by no means indicate primitive man to have been the rude creature some would make him. The pre-historic men, of whom we know any thing, appear to have been the superiors in physical structure, and mental power, if the skull is any measure of comparison, and in the arts of life, to some later peoples, whose history is known. The oldest human skulls as yet found are among the largest, and indicate if not a highly cultivated, certainly a powerful race of men, confirming the earliest scripture records that there were giants in those days; and may, for all evidence to the contrary, belong to no older period than the antediluvian times when "the wickedness of man was exceeding great upon the earth." All this is against the idea of a progressive development of man from an inferior origin.

It would appear, moreover, that the same general features belong to this pre-historic civilization, wherever it is traced in any part of the world. Similar implements, weapons and utensils of the same materials and general style of manufacture, indicate its general supremacy. In modes of architecture for dwellings and for military defence, the differences are no greater than those which now belong, in the same regard, to essentially the same grades of civilized life. The men of the Stone Age, who occupied the old world and passed away before the dawn of history, were very like the people in possession of this continent when first discovered

by the Europeans.¹ The same form of the flint arrow, the same style of stone hatchet found in the graves of the unknown warriors of the pre-historic race that occupied Britain and France, were the weapons in use by the North American Indian when first known to the white man; while in the then unexplored mounds of the lower Mississippi and the valley of the Ohio, extending into parts of Western New York, lay concealed the relics of a people who had preceded the tribes then in possession of the New World. These ancient mounds have since yielded some of their treasures to the archaeologist, leaving little doubt of the close affinity between those who built them in physical character, in their habits, social institutions and religious beliefs with the prehistoric men of the old world. They worked not only in stone and clay but also in copper and silver, as seen from their implements, utensils and ornaments. They were acquainted with the rich mineral deposits along the banks of Lake Superior as attested by ancient excavations in which are found the stone mauls and picks and decayed wooden shovels of these ancient miners. They were not only tillers of the soil, but give proof of artistic skill as weavers, potters, and to some extent workers in metals, while the monuments they have left behind indicate industry and power. In no respect, however, do they seem to have been the superior of the peoples who succeeded them, in their weapons, or many of their implements, though doubtless the ruder forms of these may have survived, while the more skillful and delicate products may have mouldered and perished. Their mound-village sites, from which their habitations and defences have disappeared, with their sacrificial burial places, sufficiently distinguish them from the roving and unsettled

¹ See "Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives," in which the author, Principal Dawson, of the McGill University, has done most excellent service in employing existing information as to American Races, "to illustrate and explain conditions long since passed away in the Eastern Continent."

tribes who disputed with them their ancient possessions. Dr. Wilson in his "Pre-historic Man" gives an illustration of an ancient burial place discovered near Brockville, C. "Here were buried about fourteen feet below the surface, twenty skeletons, arranged in a circle with their feet toward the centre. Some of the skeletons were of gigantic proportions, but their bones had well nigh crumbled into dust. With these were found well made spears and chisels of native copper, stone chisels, gonges and flint arrow heads, and a curious terra cotta mask resembling the heads on the earthen vessels of the mound-builders." This corresponds, says Dr. Dawson, with the old Alleghan modes of interment, in the South west, where the skeletons are found in the same position, and often with an earthen vessel, bearing the representation of a human face at the head of each, for food or water, even as David discovered his enemy Saul asleep in the trench with the spear and cruise at his bolster.² On our own Fort Hill, before devoted to its present uses, a number of skeletons were found similarly grouped in a circle, placed in death as warriors would lie with their feet to the watch fire—a mode of burial peculiar to the mound-builders.

That the commanding earth-work which crowns Fort Hill,³ belongs to a period which antedates the occupation of this region by the Iroquois, is generally conceded. A similar mound enclosure on an elevation, near where the rail-road crosses North Street, only still more marked, is remembered by the older inhabitants, as encircling some three or four acres. The whole has since been levelled by the plow and is under cultivation. It was the site of an ancient fortified town and abounds in interesting reliques. Here are found the most ancient forms of the disc hammer,⁴ characteristic

² "Fossil Men, etc." p. 60.

³ See Fig. 4 in the series of illustrations, in Mr. Wheeler's paper, "Inventions and Inventions of Cayuga Co., N. Y.," which forms a part of this volume.

⁴ Id. Fig. 7 b.

of the Stone Age, also the simplest type of the arrow head, small and triangular,⁵ without the notches at the base, after the pattern which Nilsson and others give as used by the Flint folk of Europe; fragments of pottery in profusion, ornamented with various tracings and indentations; the stone pipe of quite elaborate forms, and similar indications of a very ancient civilization. Only such things as are of imperishable material, survive to tell of the life and customs of the people, who had chosen for their abode a spot commanding one of the most extended and charming prospects in the vicinity of our fair city. No tradition gives any clue as to the date of its occupation. It was evidently not known to the French Jesuit Fathers, who have given us the earliest records of this region, (1656-1684), and who locate with special distinctness the Cayuga villages as they then existed. But though pre-historic in its origin and fate, it would not be difficult for the antiquarian to restore it in sketch to the eye, as it appeared when it was the centre of life and power. In the vicinity, stood some years since, as I am informed, a mound of earth, which when levelled was found to contain a large number of skeletons, many of which were pierced with arrow heads still fast in the bones, showing that these warriors fell in battle, doubtless in defence of the town, in the struggle between fierce and rival peoples for the mastery of this ground.

It seems to have been the fate of all aboriginal populations, in Asia and Europe, as well as on the North American continent, at one time or another, to be thus dispossessed of the soil, and to fade away before some superior race. When first known to the explorers of the country, the Indian tribes occupying the territory now covered by the State of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, together with a portion of

⁵ "Inventors and Inventions, etc., Fig. 5. The hand hammer and the arrow heads thus illustrated were found on the ancient site referred to in the text.

Canada, were grouped into leagues or confederacies, both for defence and aggression, with little or no apparent advantage of the one over the other. Indeed, from some cause, there appears to have been such adjustment of limits and relations as civilized nations have found necessary to preserve the balance of power. The Iroquois five nations better known from their geographical position and their prominence in the early history of the country, were at that time hemmed in on all sides by such powerful neighbors as the Hurons, the Neuters and the Eries on the north and west, and on the south and east by the Susquehannas or Andastes, and the Mohicans. It was not until after settlements were made by the French in Canada, and the Dutch, followed by the English, in New York, that the Iroquois confederacy evinced that spirit of conquest which distinguishes them and made their name a terror from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It would appear that the ambition which knew no bounds to aggression, and has won for them the title of the "Romans of the west," was suddenly stimulated by the presence of the European, as it was afterwards materially helped by his counsels and superior arms, so that within a period of less than thirty years beginning with the destruction of the Hurons in 1649, they had swept from the territory I have indicated, these rival confederacies, or held them in subjection as their conquerors.

This proved an immense factor in the problem of the new civilization and paved the way for its solution. It simplified, at the outset, the relations of the several colonies, French, Dutch and English, with the natives, and centered every important question of mutual interest, policy, or treaty, in the grand council chamber at Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois confederacy. It moreover gave, in the distribution of powers, to single cantons particular jurisdiction over conquered territory. Thus when Sir William Penn

would extend the limits of his colony by the purchase of a portion of the lands wrested by conquest from the Susquehannas, he was refused by Orehaoue, the great Cayuga war chief, who subsequently made over that same land to the English, at Albany, by treaty, thus determining the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New York. And sixty or seventy years later, when the Moravian Brethren would establish a mission site on the bank of the Susquehanna, consent must first be obtained from one of the successors of Orehaoue, and scarcely less distinguished Cayuga chief, Togahaoue. Thus, also, Shikellimy, father of the celebrated Logan, though an Oneida, by adoption, but married to the daughter of a Cayuga sachem, was made a ruler over a remnant of the conquered Shawnees, and other tribes at Shamokin on the Susquehanna—an instance of the Iroquois policy of constituting a sort of vice-gerency over all subjugated tribes.

For a hundred years the Five Nations played this conspicuous part in events which were slowly and surely conspiring toward one result; and their final overthrow became one of those necessities of history for which there is no remedy. They sought, in their pride and bravery, to maintain their position and prestige in the strife between French and English for their alliance and so for the supremacy; and deluded themselves with the fiction that they were independent of either. But with all their craft, the eloquence of their orators, the diplomacy of their sachems and the prowess of their warriors, it was as inevitable as destiny itself, that they in turn should come to the same fate which they had meted to others. It was in the necessity of events that their fortunes should be linked to one or the other of the two contending powers for the empire of the continent, and not less a necessity of their geographical position as well. And no sooner had they broken their earliest alliances, discarded the

French, and driven the missionary Fathers from their cantons, than we find them nailing up, in their villages, the arms of the Duke of York as a token of their allegiance to the English. The war of the Revolution, nearly a century afterward, found them simple dependencies to the crown of Great Britain ; and they fell with the downfall of British sovereignty over the colonies. What the final result would have been, had the Iroquois five nations combined with the French, and against English colonization, we may hardly conjecture. It is easy, however, to see that such an alliance would have postponed, if it would not have prevented the establishment of liberty in the new world. But let us not forget to do justice to that feature of the French policy which would win the alliance of these fierce nations by the arts of persuasion and of peace. The Jesuit Father in the simplicity of his faith and with the heroism of his order, sought the conversion of the Indian, while not indifferent to the motive of winning his allegiance to the crown of France. It was the Catholic policy, then, as now, to convert the "savage," not more for the sake of bringing him into the Church, than of incorporating him into the State. Even in the overturn of the Iroquois missions, numbers of their converts were persuaded by the Jesuit Fathers to accompany them back to Canada, as thirty-five years before in the disaster which befell their cherished Huron missions, when that nation was destroyed by the Iroquois, they succeeded in gathering a Christian remnant near Quebec ; and the Indian villages of Lorette and Caghawaga, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, remain until this day. It is due to the same policy that there are at the present time more than 7,000 Iroquois in Canada alone ; and of this number nearly a thousand descendants, of the Mohawks, chiefly, who emigrated thither, two hundred years ago, under the guidance of the Jesuit missionaries.

This simple fact may, perhaps, furnish a hint, at least, toward an answer to the perplexing question—what to do with the Indian? It has been demonstrated that he can be both christianized and civilized, while it has been as clearly proven, that all measures on the part of our Government with its system of treaties, reservation agencies, preserving his tribal relations and discarding his citizenship, have ended in failure. He has been driven from reservation to reservation : cajoled by treaties made to be broken ; cheated by government agents and exasperated to retaliate by the only methods the savage has learned for self-protection—those of war, with the indiscriminate massacre of the innocent and the helpless.

It was after the close of the Revolution, that the State of New York, by solemn treaty with the Cayugas, reserved to them a hundred square miles, on both sides of the lake that bears their name ; and guaranteed to them the right to fish in its waters and hunt in its forests, and to their descendants forever. Ten years sufficed to strip that reservation of almost every trace of Indian occupation. As late as the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, that sagacious and liberal statesman, in view of the harassing perplexity of this Indian problem, proposed to Congress that all the Indians then left within the precincts of civilization, be removed to the region about Green Bay, where for a long time to come, they could be secure from the intrusion of the white man ; and this is the region now included within the eastern border of the State of Wisconsin and more than a thousand miles this side of the Rocky Mountains. Thus it is that our wisest statesmanship, in dealing with the Indian problem, finds itself continually swamped by the wave of our advancing civilization. We may not forecast its solution ; only this, that the past has proved costly and cruel, and the future is far from being hopeful.

But, perhaps, I am touching too closely upon questions of the hour. Still, it is well to be reminded that there is this living connection of the present with the past; and as our work is, to husband the experience of the past, we may thereby be doing most for the light and guidance of the future.

FIFTH ANNUAL ADDRESS
BY THE PRESIDENT.

FEBRUARY 15TH, 1882.

A D D R E S S .

It is an agreeable duty which the position, held by me through your favor, since the Society was formed, imposes upon me at each annual meeting. It is, moreover, an honor which I gratefully appreciate to be thus associated with you in the work we have in trust, the dignity and charm of which grow with the passing years. No one of us, perhaps, is free to do all he would to promote the objects we here have in view. For the most part we are under the pressure of other duties, with less of leisure than inclination, to pursue the studies to which our Society invites. Each year, however, reveals the value of these labors, and furnishes fresh incentive to renewed efforts in the field we have undertaken to explore.

It has been our aim thus far to secure accurate local histories of times and events within the limits of our own county, with sketches of individuals who took an active part in them; and our archives bear witness to the diligence and success which have attended these efforts. There has been no lack, either of material, or of careful labor in its preparation for the uses of the Society. We have listened, at successive meetings, to these monographs with a zest and satisfaction hardly to be found elsewhere among our recreations. And yet the pleasure and profit thus derived, are incidental only to a much higher end. Next to acting well our own part in the events which are passing into history, is the duty to preserve and transmit the record of what has been done for human welfare, and would otherwise perish from the knowledge of men.

This is a work which is never completed. Though our Society should become venerable in years and increase its acquisitions many fold, it will continue to have the same things to do that it is now doing, with perhaps a much wider field and, as we may hope, still larger facilities. It may well be our ambition, entrusted with its interests in its comparative infancy, to do what we can to make it worthy of perpetuation in its beneficent work, as the generations of men come and go.

In my last annual address, I was led to speak of our home field as inviting archaeological research, suggested by remains corresponding to those attributed to pre-historic man, as found in different parts of Europe, and, indeed, in almost every portion of the habitable globe. I propose to pursue the subject this evening, with the aid of the more recent labors of those who have done most to inform us of the character and habits of the people who occupied this region, when first known to the European.

The importance which has attached to such remains, is in the evidence they are supposed to furnish of the great antiquity of man upon the earth; and at the same time, as shedding light upon the related question of his development from some inferior animal type. Here for example, I hold in my hand such a relic, one of many similar things picked up on the ancient village site within the limits of the city corporation, to which reference was made in my address last year. It is one of the rudest implements of the Stone Age, and may be regarded as among the most primitive put to the uses of man. It is a simple hand hammer, made by slightly hollowing a flat pebble on each side, so as to be firmly grasped by the thumb and two fingers. It was an indispensable utensil in every household, for driving wedges to split wood, breaking marrow bones, cracking nuts, bruising grains, and similar purposes, for which it appears to have had no substitute. This one bears marks of long and varied use, reducing

considerably its original size and shape, its flat surfaces smooth by hand wear, and looks as if it might have been an heirloom in some family, handed down for generations.

Now the question is, do we get any nearer the solution of this problem of the origin or antiquity of man, by the aid of this and similar implements scattered as they are in every part of the world? If the Stone Age covered the same period the world over; or if the implements and utensils which survive a people, furnished any criterion of their capacity, or intelligence even, the question would be greatly simplified. But, for example, the Stone Age of Europe antedates written history. Hence it opens a fine field for the antiquary in which to indulge his imagination as to how long man has been upon this earth, while the evolutionist can weave what theory he chooses about the natural capacity of a creature who could only fabricate such rude articles, and be content with the narrow life which they indicate. On the other hand, there is a Stone Age peculiar to this continent in that it continued to a comparatively recent date, and subsequent to written history, so that we know much about its peoples, their character, habits with their political and social institutions.

Our North American Indians, up to the time of their discovery by European explorers, were using the same stone implements, not less primitive, not a whit more ingenious in their make, than those of pre-historic Europe, so frequently cited as the silent witnesses of the indefinite age of man upon this planet, and of his inferior origin. I have examined, carefully, a large number of illustrations covering every shape and style of stone implement and weapon, characteristic of the pre-historic age, side by side with those in common use by our aboriginal Indians, and there is no difference; but so far as they indicate intelligence or capacity, they might have been made and used by one and the same people. Pre-historic man as measured by the remains disinterred from the

burial mounds and caves of the European continent, was at least not inferior to the red man of America, either in physical characteristics or in the arts of life. Indeed the resemblance in habits, institutions and religious belief, as thus indicated, can hardly be questioned.

But what is perhaps even more significant in this connection, the American Stone Age, as we know it, was preceded by or cōtemporaneous with a period in which flourished a people who have left behind them evidences of art and forms of industry, which were unknown to the Indian three hundred years ago, when first seen by the European.¹ Are we therefore to infer that these mound-builders and metal workers were the intellectual superiors of the red man who was found in possession of the soil, though he did not perpetuate their type of civilization? Does the fact that the lords of the continent, when first known to the adventurous navigator, were living in bark houses, and content with the rudest form of stone implement, prove them inferior in capacity or achievement to the people who built their pueblos on raised embankments of earth, the remains of which have given them their name? There are, for example, several well known

¹ "From the absence of all traditionary knowledge of the monnd-builders, among the tribes found east of the Mississippi," says Morgan, (*Houses and House Life*, pp. 219, 220,) "an inference arises that the period of their occupation was ancient. Their withdrawal was probably gradual and completed before the advent of the ancestors of the present tribes, or simultaneous with their arrival. It seems more likely that their retirement from the country was voluntary than that they were expelled by an influx of wild tribes. If their expulsion had been the result of a protracted warfare, all remembrance of so remarkable an event would scarcely have been lost among the tribes by whom they were displaced. * * * * It is not improbable that the attempt to transplant the New Mexican type of Village life into the valley of the Ohio, proved a failure and that after great efforts continued through centuries of time, it was finally abandoned by their withdrawal first into the Gulf region through which they entered, and lastly from the country altogether." Dr. Abbott, (*Primitive Industry*, p. 350) asserts that "as yet there is not one jot or tittle of evidence that proves that the native races of the North Atlantic seaboard, were not as old as the mound-builders. The latter seem the older simply because the traces of antiquity on the seaboard have been overlooked or strangely disregarded, because so uninviting when compared with the rich harvests of strange objects, that reward the explorers of the western mounds."

Indian sites within the limits of this county, and assuming now that all we know about the people who once occupied them, is what may be gathered from the remains which have survived them, their stone hammers, axes, chisels, pestles, gouges, their flint spear and arrow heads, or the fragments of pottery, which suggest their household economy, and what would be the ready conclusion? Why, that they were the rudest of savages, if not the most inferior specimens of humanity.

But, fortunately, it so happens that we know much about these old Cayugas, that we can never know of the pre-historic peoples who have left the same imperishable relics, so alike in form, and use, that they might have been fabricated by the same hands. We know that they developed many useful arts of which no remains are to be found; as of curing and tanning the skins of animals; of the manufacture of moccasins and wearing apparel; of rope and net making from filaments of bark; of finger weaving with warp and woof of the same material into mats, sashes, burden straps and other useful fabrics; of basket making with osier, cane and splints; of canoe making from skins, birch bark, or by hollowing and shaping a single log; of making fish spears and bone hooks, implements for athletic games, musical instruments, such as the flute and the drum together with various personal ornaments of shell, bone, and stone.² We know also that they were cultivators of the soil; had their harvest festivals, and stored for winter use the fruits of their husbandry.

But more than this, we know that these ancient Cayugas formed an integral part of a powerful confederacy, with a government and institutions in structure and purpose not unlike our own Republic, which came centuries later; certainly more in accordance with it in form and principle, than any cotemporaneous European government. It was a marvel

² Lewis H. Morgan in North American Review, October, 1868.

of political sagacity, as it appeared to the intelligent and devoted missionaries who first sought to win the Iroquois to the crown of France and the Christian faith. The students of political science in the Old World, were at a loss to account for the existence of a system evincing such wisdom in adjusting power to personal rights and combining law with liberty, among rude barbarians.

Now with this knowledge, we are only to remember that they were a people of the Stone Age, to distrust the conclusion to which we are invited in speculations about the prehistoric races, that because men made their common and more useful implements and their most effective weapons, of stone instead of iron ; and their ornaments of shell and bone rather than of copper or gold, therefore they were low in intellect and related, not distantly, to the chimpanzee or the gorilla.

It is due largely to the careful labors of a native of this county, the late Lewis H. Morgan, that we have such full knowledge of our immediate predecessors in the central and western portion of the State. It was to the political and social system of the Iroquois, that this distinguished scholar devoted his earlier ethnological studies, and now almost simultaneous with his lamented death, his latest investigations in this "great problem of Indian life" appear in a volume recently issued by the Department of the Interior at Washington.³ We have also within the past year, from the pen of the eminent philologist, Mr. Horatio Hale, an authentic history of the origin of the Iroquois League, as the result of much patient research.⁴ It presents the founder of the confederation, Hiawatha, as no longer a divinity either Iroquois or Algonquin, but in the garb of sober history and under the title of "A Law-giver of the Stone Age" Dr. Morgan has done much to disentangle American aboriginal

³ U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey, *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines; Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. IV, 1881.

⁴ Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederation. A study in Anthropology, 1881.

history and ethnology from perversion, caricature and romance; but a more satisfactory single study in this direction, than this of Mr. Hale, it would be difficult to find among the various contributions to this department of knowledge.

It is from a confused Indian mythology, that the genius of Longfellow has woven the charming poem which sings of Hiawatha as of miraculous birth, sent of the Great Spirit among the red men to clear their rivers, forests and fishing grounds, and teach them the arts of peace. The Giteche Manitou, or Great Master of Life, has become weary with the quarrels and bloodshed of his poor children, and tells them that they should fight each other no more; that their strength is in union; that henceforth he would have them at peace with one another, and promises to send them a great prophet who will guide them and teach them; that they have only to listen to his counsels to grow and prosper; otherwise they would fade away and perish. If, then, they would receive their prophet, they must cease from their bloody quarrels; wash the war paint from their faces; bury their war clubs; smoke together the peace-pipe, and love as brothers. Enough to say, the promise is made good in the birth of the child of wonder, this son of the West Wind; in his strange nurture; his marvelous deeds of wisdom and love, until his final farewell to the people for whose good he had wrought and suffered, when, as he faded from their sight, his bark canoe seemed lifted high into a sea of splendor and then sank like the new moon into the purple distance.

As in the Grecian mythology, gods were only magnified men, so this fabled divinity of the red man, was no other than a veritable Onondaga chief, "a grave Iroquois law-giver of the fifteenth century," instead of an "Ojibway demigod," as he is made to figure in modern literature. Let us then for a while, this evening, follow the traces of veritable history, as given by Mr. Hale in his discriminating research over ground so long surrendered to fable and song.

The Iroquois were first discovered in 1608, and it is claimed in their traditions that their confederacy had existed from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years, when they first saw Europeans, which would give the date of its formation about A. D. 1400-1450.⁵ If the Iroquois were originally one people, as there is good reason to believe, they had been broken into five independent tribes contiguous to each other and substantially of one language. The Mohawks and Oneidas on the east, were involved in perpetual broils with the Mohicans who held the banks of the Hudson River. The Cayugas and Senecas on the west, were in like antagonism with such warlike tribes as the Eries and Hurons, while the Onondagas, being the central nation, had their own policy, directed by a crafty, ambitious chief who sought to advance his own power, regardless of the other Iroquois tribes. His name was Atotarho, or as also written, Tododaho. He was regarded as a most dangerous antagonist by his immediate neighbors, as well as by his more distant enemies, and was sullenly opposed to anything like union with the other tribes.

Hiawatha, himself a chief of high rank and of repute among the Onondagas for his wisdom and goodness, on the contrary, longed for union and peace, not only among the five nations thus grouped together, but for all others, that could be induced to come into such a league. He was now past middle life, a calm and thoughtful observer of events. Moved by the sad condition to which war and misrule had reduced his own, and the other tribes, he kept his own counsel, while meditating a scheme which would secure general peace and amity.

The time at length came, when Hiawatha was ready for action. He sought first the adhesion of his own nation to the plan, before it should be proposed to the others. Exercising the right of one of his rank, he summoned the chiefs

⁵ Morgan's *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*, p. 26.

and people in council. They came together in large numbers. But the presence of Atotarho, seated in grim silence, was enough to over-awe the assembly, for though he spoke not a word, it was apparent to all that he looked with displeasure upon the change. Hiawatha unsupported by a single voice, stood alone and the council dispersed. Nothing daunted, however, he called another assembly which for the same reason as before, broke up without debate. He persisted for the third time; but besides himself no one came; and as the narrative relates, Hiawatha seated himself on the ground in sorrow; enveloped his head in his mantle of skins and remained a long time wrapped in grief and thought. At length, he arose and left the town; and as the councils of his own nation were closed against him, he betook his way toward the Mohawks. It is related that when but a short distance from the town, he passed Atotarho, his crafty antagonist seated near a well known spring, in his usual stern and silent mood. No word passed between them, as Hiawatha plunged into the forest. Among other incidents of his solitary journey, it is told, that in passing a certain lake, he gathered a number of white shells with which its shores were sprinkled, and arranged them in wampum strings upon his breast, as the token that he was the messenger of peace. It was early one morning that he arrived at a Mohawk town, the residence of a noted chief, Dekanawidah; and seating himself upon a fallen trunk, near a spring, just as the day was dawning, he awaited the coming of the first to draw water. Presently, one of the six brothers of Dekanawidah, who, with their families, lived with him in the same house, came with his vessel of elm bark, toward the spring. Hiawatha sat silent and motionless. Something in his aspect awed the warrior, who feared to address him. He returned to the house, saying to Dekanawidah, "A man, or a figure like a man, is seated by the spring, having his breast covered with white shells."

"It is a guest," replied the chief, "Go bring him in ; we will make him welcome."⁶

Hiawatha found in the Mohawk chieftain, at once, a kindred spirit and a wise counselor. Together they entered upon the task of shaping and perfecting the proposed league, and securing for it the popular favor. The idea, as we have said, was of peace and union among the several tribes whose relative position and mutual interest pointed in that direction, while the confederation, once formed, was intended to be sufficiently elastic to embrace any and all other tribes who sought its benefits and complied with its terms. Indeed, the scheme in its inception, was a very broad and liberal one, and could it have been carried out, according to the idea of its projector, it would have been to the Indian nations of the North American continent, what our Federal Union is to the states that compose it. That it did not reach these colossal proportions, will not diminish our respect for this "law-giver of the Stone Age," who had the heart to desire, and the mind to conceive the beneficent design.

After much deliberation, the approbation of the Mohawks was obtained, and ambassadors were despatched to the Oneidas, the adjacent tribe, to secure their co-operation. The embassy met with a friendly reception, but the gravity of the matter required consideration, and it was not until the expiration of a year, that the consent of the Oneidas was given.

With the prestige thus afforded by the favorable action of the Mohawks and Oneidas, the attempt was renewed to win the Onondagas to the scheme, and the deputation for the

⁶ Among the Iroquois, hospitality was an established usage. If a man entered an Indian house, at whatever hour of the day, in any of their villages, whether a villager, a tribesman or a stranger, it was the duty of the women therein to set food before him. An omission to do this, would have been a courtesy amounting to an affront. As a custom it was upheld by a vigorous public sentiment. Mr. Morgan connects this universal exercise of hospitality with the ownership of land in common, the distribution of their products to households, consisting of a number of families, or the practice of communism in living in the household.—*Houses and House Life*, etc., p. 61.

purpose, consisted of the three chiefs, Hiawatha, Dekanawidah, with the Oncida, Odatshehte. But with this reinforcement even, the proposal was fated to another failure. Atatarho kept the same mind and coldly refused to entertain the project. The deputation, however, were not to be turned from their purpose. Next to the Onondagas toward the west, lay the Cayugas; and to their capital these messengers of peace made their way through the unbroken forest, conscious of a high errand and still hopeful of success. The Cayugas needed little persuasion to induce them to ratify the compact.

This done, Akahenyonk, their chief, joined with the other deputies in one more effort to secure terms with the Onondagas and their haughty chief. Resort was had to the tactics of a wise diplomacy, which takes into account the difficulties of the case, secures what it can at once, and waits upon time to bring about what, for the moment, it may seem to surrender. Thus it was proposed to concede that the Onondagas should be the leading nation of the confederacy, as geographically they occupied the central position; that their chief town should be the federal capital where the general councils should be held, and in which they should have fourteen sachems, while no other nation should have more than ten; that the right to summon a federal council should rest alone in Atatarho as the leading chief, and no act should be valid to which he might object. These concessions to the pride of the Onondagas and the haughty obstinacy of their chief, met the case: and in due time they also ratified in solemn treaty the league, which now embraced four of the Iroquois nations. It remained to secure the adhesion of the Senecas, the most populous of them all. A certain distinction was accorded to them in the recognition of their two principal chiefs, as military commanders, with the title of Door Keepers of the Long House, an appellation by which the confederacy was to be known; and they were prompt to follow the example of the other tribes.

The union thus formed and the principles on which it was founded thus thoroughly understood, the next step was to construct and put in operation the actual government by the appointment of its first council on the basis of representation already determined. This was done at a convention composed, by common consent, of the leaders in the movement already mentioned, including the Seneca chiefs, six in all, which met near the Onondaga lake, with Hiawatha as their principal adviser, and attended by a large concourse of the people from various parts of the new confederacy. Fifty sachems were selected for the federal council, distributed as follows: nine each from the Mohawks and Oneidas; fourteen from the Onondagas; ten from the Cayugas, and eight from the Senecas. The rights of the several cantons composing the league, were carefully guarded by providing that unanimity must be reached in every decision; that is, the voice of each tribe or nation as determined by the majority of its representatives, in separate deliberation, after the general discussion, must be given in favor of the measure to make it binding. Thus each particular nation had an equal standing in the federal council, without regard to the number of its representatives; and to each was accorded a veto power against the action of all the others, thus neutralizing the concession made to the Onondagas in giving them the larger number of sachems in the council and their chief a veto upon its acts, as substantially the same right was accorded to all.⁷

⁷ Recognizing unanimity as a necessary principle, the founders of the confederacy divided the sachems of each tribe into classes as a means for its attainment. No sachem was allowed to express an opinion in council, in the nature of a vote, until he had first agreed with the sachem or sachems of his class upon the opinion to be expressed, and had been appointed to act as speaker for the class. Thus, the eight Seneca sachems, being in four classes, could have but four opinions; and the ten Cayuga sachems being in the same number of classes could have but four. In this manner the sachems in each class were first brought to unanimity among themselves. A cross-consultation was then held between the four sachems appointed to speak for the four classes; and when they had agreed they designated one of their number to express their resulting opinion, which was the answer of that tribe. If the several opinions agreed, the decision of the council was made. If not, the measure was defeated and the council was at an end.—*Houses and House Life, etc., p. 37.*

This is the simple history of the origin of the Iroquois confederation which, for more than three centuries, held the Five Nations together in perfect amity and made them such a power on this continent. I have rehearsed the story in the briefest form, as chiefly drawn from the elaborate paper of Mr. Hale, who has done such valuable service in disentangling this early portion of Iroquois history from the legends of their mythology, and given to their most cherished and venerated name its place in true history. Hiawatha, as a real personage, ranks with the heroes, sages and exemplars of the past, who have advanced human welfare. "His tender and lofty wisdom," says Mr. Hale, "his wide reaching benevolence, and his fervent appeals to the better sentiments, enforced by the eloquence of which he was master, touched cords in the popular heart, which have continued until this day. Fragments of the speeches in which he addressed the council and the people of the league, are still remembered and repeated."^s "About the main events of his history and about his character and purposes, there can be no reasonable doubt; we have the wampum belts which he handled and whose simple hieroglyphics preserve the memory of the public acts in which he took part. We have also in the Iroquois "Book of Rites" a still more clear and convincing testimony of the character both of this legislator and the people for whom his institutions were designed. This book, sometimes called the "Book of the condoling council," comprises the speeches, songs and other ceremonials which from the earliest period of the confederacy, have composed the proceedings of their councils when a deceased chief is lamented and his successor is installed in office. The fundamental laws of the League, a list of their ancient towns and the names of the chiefs who

^s *Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederation*, p. 15.

constituted their first council, chanted in a kind of litany, are also comprised."¹⁹

These men of the Stone Age, measured by their work and time, were the equals in intellectual endowment and practical wisdom with any whose names are associated with the origin of nations. Their ideas of union and independence of law as the basis of liberty, antedate the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States, at least three centuries. These "Flint Folk" had maintained freedom with self-government in the heart of our empire state, for two hundred years before Hendrick Hudson sailed up the river which bears his name, or the Pilgrim Fathers set foot on Plymouth Rock. It was certainly not superiority of numbers that gave them the possession of the gateways of this continent from the Hudson to the Mississippi; for at the height of their power, they could not command more than twenty-five hundred warriors, with a native population of less than twelve thousand. The simple fact that they maintained their union with free government, in its integrity for thrice the period which covers our national life, may of itself serve to increase our respect for these barbarians, as we are wont to regard them, if not to abate somewhat the self esteem of our modern civilization, which would delude us with the notion that superior culture and wider knowledge, necessarily imply superior capacity and a sturdier virtue.

Another fact of special significance is that there were no indications of degeneracy among their leaders, or in the people themselves, from the formation of their confederacy to the time when the earliest white men came among them.

¹⁹ Id. p. 19. There are at the present time in the United States and Canada more than 13,000 bearing the Iroquois names and lineage; and says Morgan (*Houses and House Life*, etc., p. 32): "Although but a shadow of the old confederacy now remains, it is fully organized with its complement of sachems and aids, with the exception of the Mohawk tribe, which removed to Canada about 1775. Whenever vacancies occur, their places are filled and a general council is convened to install the new sachems and their aids. The present Iroquois are also perfectly familiar with the structure and principles of the ancient confederacy."

"No senator of Venice," says the Franciscan Father Hemepin, "ever assumed a graver countenance or spoke with more weight than these Iroquois sachems in their assemblies." And the Jesuit Father Lafitau, in similar phrase, represents the federal senate at Onondaga as "discussing affairs of state with as much coolness and gravity, as the Spanish Junta or the grand conseil of Venice." The successor of the haughty Atotarho, two hundred years after the establishment of the League, was the princely and courteous Garacontie, the fast friend of the French missionaries, the advocate of peace, and scarcely less honored and beloved in the other cantons than by his own people, the Onondagas. He was, moreover, greatly esteemed by the Jesuit Fathers and the French authorities at Quebec, by whom he was entertained on occasions of state, with marks of highest respect, and whose ambassadors he always received at the Iroquois capital, with becoming dignity and grace. His name signifies "sun that advances," and his character as a sachem and sage, was not unworthy the appellation.

Not unlike Garacontie in many of his best characteristics, and perhaps his superior in the arts of diplomacy and eloquence, was his contemporary, Saonchiogwa, the chief of the Cayugas, whose speeches in general council and on important embassies, have been preserved in the French Relations¹⁰ as among the finest specimens of native oratory, which have called forth such encomiums from our own statesmen and scholars. He was the friend and host of the learned and accomplished Jesuit, de Carhiel, whose confidence and esteem he enjoyed, during the eighteen years' residence of that missionary among the Cayugas, and through whose influence he was led to embrace the Christian faith, and subsequently baptized by the Lord Bishop at Quebec, in the presence of the Governor General and other French dignitaries both of

¹⁰ Relation, 1656, Chap. VII; Ib. 1661, Chap. II.

church and state, on the conclusion of a most important negotiation with which he had been charged by his countrymen.¹¹

Among examples of military genius, I might speak of Orehaoue, also a Cayuga, and recognized as the great war chief of the Five Nations, at the period of which we are speaking. His achievements, both of peace and war, would fill a volume. He was, perhaps, the most prominent Indian figure of his time, unless we except the Huron Rat, that extraordinary man of whom Charlevoix says, "No Indian had ever possessed greater merit, a finer mind, more valor, prudence, or discernment in understanding those with whom he had to deal." Returning from France (where he had been sent a prisoner through treachery) in the same vessel with Count Frontenac, on his second appointment as governor-general of Canada, Orehaoue became strongly attached to the Count, who had a great admiration for his genius, and always treated him with high consideration. Indeed, he became identified with the French cause, as against the English who had in many ways sought his favor, and became the war leader of the Indian allies to the crown of France. He died of a brief sickness, greatly lamented; and as a token of his fidelity and eminent service, was buried at Quebec with both military and ecclesiastical honors.¹²

I could speak of others, if less prominent, scarcely less gifted, among the Iroquois leaders in that critical period when the resources of both France and England were taxed to their utmost to win the Five Nations into alliance with one or the other of these rival powers. But it must suffice to say that all our knowledge of this people of the Stone Age, and their chosen leaders, as indicating their capacity for government and national achievement, only demonstrates how unsafe it

¹¹ Ib. 1671, Chap. II.

¹² See Col. Hist. N. Y., IX, 464, 524, 681. Also Shea's Charlevoix, IV, 151, 203, 212, 246.

is, to judge of the natural capacity of a race of men from the standpoint of archæology, apart from the light of history.

A similar review of the domestic and social life of the Iroquois nations, for which there is now abundant material, is equally in their favor. It would present them as a kindly affectionate people, full of sympathy for their friends in distress, considerate to their women, tender to their children, hospitable to strangers, persistently faithful to the relationship of kindred, anxious for peace, and imbued with a profound reverence for their national heroes and benefactors. Indeed, the more we know of them, through the careful studies of such writers as I have already indicated, the less ground is there for the common prejudice that they are only treacherous and cruel, a race of rude and ferocious warriors skilled in the arts of torture, rapine and bloodshed. "The ferocity, craft and cruelty (says Mr. Hale) which have been deemed their leading traits have been merely the natural accompaniments of their wars of self preservation and no more indicate their genuine character, than the paint and plume and tomahawk of the warrior, displayed the customary guise in which he appeared among his own people." We as a nation, would resent as narrow and harsh, any judgment which might be formed of our national character, most of all of our domestic and social life, from the horrors which might be gathered from our late civil war, or indeed from that which secured our independence, instead of being measured by the purpose to be free, and the sacrifices then freely made to preserve union and liberty. And fortunate will it be for the American people, if after two more centuries of national life, with all their accessories of power and dominion, the institutions we now cherish shall remain unimpaired; and the sentiment of universal brotherhood and peace which for three hundred years, directed the polity and conserved the national league of this people of the Stone Age, shall still abide the strength and glory of the Republic.

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